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A sense of unease about where Nato goes now

General-Anzeiger

The prospect of agreement between the superpowers on the terms of their first disarmament treaty in the intermediate nuclear sector in Europe has triggered a further reappraisal of security policy, especially in Bonn and Paris.

Washington's negotiators may now base their approach on a joint attitude adopted by the North Atlantic pact, but there is still a perceptible sense of uneasiness, especially in the CDU/CSU, about Nato's future with a change in defence strategy given the trend to a growth threat potential posed by the Warsaw Pact.

This uneasiness tends to be enhanced by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's statement raising the issue of what, for Bonn, is an important aspect of the agreement envisaged between the superpowers.

He mentioned the Bundeswehr's Pershing 1a missiles, which together with their US-controlled nuclear warheads are agreed by Nato not to be negotiable in Geneva.

The Soviet Union had earlier, in talks with Germans and others, seemed not to be much interested one way or the other.

The poker game now seems to be under way in connection with a weapon system the Bonn government, and with it Nato, has stated to be a kind of bare minimum as a vestigial deterrent option.

It remains to be seen whether the Americans will raise objections to Soviet wishes on this crucial issue, possibly jeopardising agreement.

The indications are that the United States will adopt a flexible approach. With a view to striking a respectable balance for the Reagan administration the US delegation will be keen to eliminate if at all possible any obstacles to agreement with Moscow.

In the tension field of ideas, particularly in connection with tendencies such as these, the Germans and, with them, the French feel almost inseparably interlinked where German security considerations are concerned.

Views range from a statement by the CDU's Alfred Dregger to proposals by M. Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Kohl.

Herr Dregger said that if disarmament terms were agreed in the intermediate sector a European Security Union ought to be set up.

M. Giscard d'Estaing, the former French head of state, said in a lively National Assembly debate that the Federal Republic must be firmly anchored in Western Europe.

Herr Kohl has suggested setting up a joint Franco-German brigade under rotating command.

There is, of course, no intention of reorganising the Atlantic alliance, let alone dismantling it. Proposals to extend Franco-German security cooperation are of longer standing than specific disarmament prospects.

Yet pointers to the need for close European partnership in general, and Franco-German partnership in particular, within Nato have grown more urgent of late.

In Paris close German incorporation in a "European defence concept" with a deterrent capacity is under discussion by politicians of all parties.

Former Socialist Premier Laurent Fabius has even referred to extending French nuclear defence strategy to provide protection for the Federal Republic.'

He has also thought aloud about the division of labour into an economic leadership role for Germany and leadership possibilities for France in defence and diplomacy.

France as a nuclear power is not a member of Nato's military organisation, so French politicians are in a better position than their German counterparts to draw up alternatives to current alliance strategy.

At the back of their minds there will always be worries that the Germans might be planning to go it alone.

Helmut Kohl's proposal may also be aimed at a reappraisal with regard to expected realignments in relation to current defence doctrine.

The geostrategic connection between France and Germany is of overwhelming importance both politically and militarily for Europe.

Yet this connection makes the alliance with America none the less important, especially for the Federal Republic, which has as its eastern frontier the intra-German border.

It would also be dangerous to underrate the effort needed to bring about progress toward a "security union" — or even a political union in Europe.

The aim of Bonn's proposal must, like that of the others, be to strengthen Europe's hand in the European defence community. There can be no question of an alternative to the Atlantic alliance.

Friedhelm Kemna

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 20 June 1987)

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Jerusalem honours Mayor Rommel

Stuttgart Mayor Manfred Rommel (left) is decorated with the Friend of Jerusalem award by the Mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, for his "long-standing service to the city." The only other German to get the award was the late Axel Springer, the publisher. Rommel is the son of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel. (Photo: dpa)

Case of Red Square flier comes gently down to earth



A Radio Luxembourg interview with Valentin Falin, head of the Soviet news agency *Novosti* and a former Soviet ambassador to Bonn, indicates that the worst of the Rust Affair is over.

The case of the 19-year-old pilot who landed a Cessna on Red Square in Moscow will still come up before the courts — in Moscow and in Schleswig-Holstein.

In Moscow he is liable to prosecution for having endangered people's lives. In Itzehoe the public prosecutor has begun investigations in connection with air safety offences.

But Mathias Rust has vanished from the limelight of world affairs and President Weizsäcker will not need to as much as mention the case during his visit to Moscow; Rust, Mr Falin has made it clear, is no longer on the agenda.

Understandably, indeed justifiably, the Soviet diplomat praises his country's fighter pilots for not shooting Rust down "even though they twice had an opportunity of doing so."

If they had, the consequences would have been unforeseeable. True enough, the Soviet pilots showed much more common sense than the German youngster.

Mr Falin took the wind out of the Rust Affair's sails in particular by saying that the "affair had more to do with the personal qualities of the young man than with the political background or with political string-pullers of any kind."

In other words, as Mr Falin said by way of a friendly euphemism, Rust is an immature youngster motivated by the desire to show off or the like.

Let the courts deal with him, he argued; politically and in terms of ties between Bonn and Moscow he is of no importance.

Mr Falin underscored this interpretation by adding that Rust was currently "in a constantly good mood," presumably seeing investigative custody as a "continuation of the whole adventure."

Given this turn of events there is no further cause to pay special attention to the "young man and his personal qualities."

Axel Ostrowski

(Kieler Nachrichten, 22 June 1987)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Tattered edges of East Bloc unity begin to show

Seldom have differences within Eastern Europe been so plain to see as in East Berlin and Warsaw and official attitudes toward recent, let us say, Western visitors.

In East Berlin the regime felt the communist system was being called into question by young people who were attracted by a rock concert in the West, within earshot of the Wall.

And East Berliners on their side of the Brandenburg Gate were told to move on while President Reagan made his speech, again within earshot and, of course, on the other side of the Wall.

In Poland — in contrast — Pope John Paul II, on a state visit, called, to an audience of millions, for more civil rights and for free trade unions.

The Pope's third visit to his native Poland was a crucial test for the entire Warsaw Pact.

His first visit in 1979 gave Polish bourgeois, patriotic self-confidence a boost without which the nationwide rise of Solidarity, the free trade union, a year later would hardly have been conceivable.

In 1983 the Polish government allowed the Pope to pay the country a second visit to demonstrate the return to normal after the lifting of martial law.

Government and Opposition both hoped his third visit would trigger headway from a state of crippling resignation. They did so for different reasons: economic the one, political the other.

The Pope did not allow himself to be harnessed by either side. Instead, he promptly sided with the people. He made it clear he saw himself as their advocate, given that the Polish people are unable to express themselves freely.

During his visit he referred to problems by name, calling at places where Solidarity was born for democratic self-determination for the individual.

He stressed the workers' right to free trade unions and demonstratively mentioned Solidarity by name.

A Catholic priest who was murdered by the secret police, Fr Jerzy Popieluszko, was, he said, a shining example for the Polish clergy. Fr Popieluszko, a keen Solidarity supporter, was thus given Papal endorsement.

At Lublin Catholic University, the only one of its kind in the communist world, the Pope attacked the ideological root of the system in disputing materialism's right to prevail over mankind as allegedly incontrovertible truth.

Responding to the "new" keynote sounded in Moscow, he added that communists had lately been less insistent on the absolute validity of materialism.

The Pope sought to test the new openness in the East Bloc, and it is worth noting that what, for the East, were unheard-of goings-on in connection with his every public appearance for once gave rise to no rumblings in the Kremlin.

What the Vatican visitor had to say will not have been to the Soviet leadership's liking but, unlike on past occasions, it decided this time in favour of non-intervention.

The Soviet attitude seems to have been that it was for the comrades in Warsaw to decide how best to deal with Polish idiosyncracies.

They find it anything but easy. Despite the amazing tolerance the Polish authorities seem at first glance to have shown it is clear on closer scrutiny there is no room in General Jaruzelski's Poland for the views voiced by the Pope.

Despite its shrewd handling of the Pope's visit the Polish regime was unable to conceal its true nature, which is — in a word — oppressive.

In side-streets adjoining the squares where the Pope celebrated Mass the armed forces were out in strength, as in the days of martial law.

A wide range of stratagems was used to prevent correspondents from filing reports. Members of the Opposition were warned in no uncertain terms before the Pope's visit.

In bidding the Pope farewell General Jaruzelski, who usually conveys an impression of strict self-control, nearly lost control of himself in complaining of alleged manipulation during the Papal visit.

During the visit Warsaw allowed the full leeway so-called real socialism currently permits. The authorities went as far as they felt they were able in permitting views other than their own.

The Church will remain an even more important partner for the Polish government, as leading politicians have reaffirmed, — but the dialogue will be difficult.

The Church will respect the limits to the system as outlined by the Pope, but it cannot stand well clear of these limits in stating its demands.

Pope John Paul has amended the policy of great restraint pursued by Archbishop Glemp.

Leading Solidarity activists have described the Pope's visit as a source of inspiration in their struggle for freedom and human rights.

That is clearly no exaggeration. The Opposition in Poland has grown stronger and more imaginative. The regime will need to adjust to the change.

Claus Preller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 June 1987)

Bonn ship hit by accident, Poland says

A German naval supply vessel, the *Neckar*, was shelled by a Polish warship in international waters off Danzig, where it was observing Warsaw Pact exercises. Three crewmen were injured and the ship holed in five places. Poland has apologised and said the shooting was unintentional.

The Baltic is not the Persian Gulf but the shells that hit the *Neckar* trigger worrying associations.

The damage may not have been serious and the affair not have been anywhere near as dramatic as the inferno on board the *USS Stark*, mistakenly attacked by an Iraqi fighter a few weeks ago.

The Baltic incident seems to have been a mistake too. Either East Bloc gun crews are poor shots or the Bundesmarine vessel manoeuvred itself into the line of fire.

East and West keep a close and suspicious eye on each other in the Baltic but war is a remote prospect. There can be no question of either side taking aim and firing in earnest.

Bonn would do well to raise the matter calmly and in its own good time.

Yet a vestige of malaise remains. Incidents such as these tear open the veil of habituation that repeatedly descends on military confrontation in densely-populated Europe.

The Baltic, with beaches that will soon be lined with holidaymakers, is a case in point. It may not bear comparison with the Persian Gulf, but warships — especially East Bloc vessels — in the Baltic have an enormous destructive potential.

We can't really afford to make "mistakes."

The need for progress on conventional arms reduction and confidence-building measures could hardly have been demonstrated more convincingly.

Arnd Bäucker

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 16 June 1987)

Germany to try alleged hijacker and not to extradite him

Time alone will tell whether Bonn's solution in the Hamadei Case, to try the accused and not to extradite him to America, is the best thing. There is no way it can get it absolutely right, and it is more a matter of somehow limiting where it gets it wrong.

The news blackout in the case is sufficiently effective for us not to know whether the US has accepted the decision reached or still insists on Hamadei's extradition.

He is accused of complicity in the hijacking of a US airliner in Beirut in 1985. An American citizen was killed in the process and the United States is keen to bring him to book.

If he is found guilty he could face a death sentence.

The German government has so far kept strictly to constitutional procedures. It has carefully considered the circumstances of the case and held an identity parade to enable passengers to see him as part of US judicial proceedings.

Bonn has thus gained time in which to negotiate terms for the release of the two German hostages, Cordes and Schmidt, in Lebanon.

Sooner or later the German authorities will have to weigh legality against expediency. Ought they to stick to the letter of the law or to be guided by the realisation that the hostages' lives will be worth not a cent if Hamadei is handed over to the US?

Chancellor Kohl has sought the backing of all Bundestag parties except the Greens on this issue.

Like Helmut Schmidt on past occasions, he would like the parliamentary parties to make common cause against terrorism. He is well aware that even if a solution is reached in this case the problem will still remain.

Can a democratic state committed to the rule of law yield to blackmail where its citizens' lives are at stake, or should it perhaps draw distinctions?

Maybe, for instance, it should leave to their own devices those who voluntarily risk their lives.

Whatever happens the government will be responsible — even if it leaves

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Europe's farm policy in a tight corner

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

European Community Agric[illegible] Ministers have, as expected, [illegible] to agree on a joint approach, a[illegible] Federal Republic is increasing[illegible] suming the brakeman's role.

German Agriculture Ministe[illegible] Kiechle objects to three propos[illegible] imposition of a so-called fat tax, a[illegible] farm price guarantees, especiall[illegible] cereals, and the abolition of offse[illegible] ies.

So Herr Kiechle's — and Bo[illegible] views — have emerged as the cru[illegible] the negotiations.

His position is difficult. Given Co[illegible] munity budget shortfalls there are [illegible] two ways of bridging the gap: eit[illegible] increasing revenues or by reduc[illegible] farm price support.

The fat tax is designed to boost re[illegible] nues, but as it could raise the spe[illegible] of a trade war, especially with the Un[illegible] ited States, Bonn as a champion of fre[illegible] world trade can hardly approve.

The British and the Dutch are wi[illegible] Bonn on this issue.

The German government can[illegible] consider any reduction in farm pr[illegible] guarantees either.

Given German farmers' lower ear[illegible] ings, the leeway for concessions [illegible] strictly limited.

Compromise may seem possible [illegible] connection with the border offset le[illegible] German farmers are paid in compens[illegible] tion for deutschemark revaluation. [illegible] Herr Kiechle has so far refused to co[illegible] sider them.

Scrapping offset levies as demanded by France in particular would be a st[illegible] in the direction of eliminating an [illegible] strument that currently disto[illegible] competition in German farmers' [illegible] vour.

As matters stand Herr Kiechle [illegible] be unable to uphold his refusal o[illegible] three issues.

The Federal Republic cannot [illegible] to make concessions on the [illegible] — and can hope to enlist others' suppor[illegible] in refusing to do so.

Herr Kiechle had to use his veto [illegible] farm prices last year. He can't very [illegible] do so again.

The furthest Bonn can afford to go [illegible] to keep cuts in farmers' earnings lowe[illegible] than so far planned.

But the others are unlikely to play ball on the offset levy, however.

So a "zero option" as advocated by Herr Kiechle is unrealistic.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 19 June 1987)

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■ GERMANY

The revolt that was crushed by Soviet tanks

General-Anzeiger

Most German commemoration days mark defeats rather than victories — not surprising in view of recent history.

German Unity Day, which is celebrated each year on 17 June, recalls a failure of a truly historical dimension.

On 17 June 1953 the popular uprising in East Germany which resulted from social unrest and spontaneous protest against an increase in work norms was crushed with the help of Soviet tanks.

This day marked the triumph of the post-war reality of power structures in Central Europe over any thoughts of outside help thereafter for stirrings of freedom behind the western boundary of the Soviet empire.

The events on 17 June 1953 virtually paved the way for the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the border fortifications which now divide Germany along a border 1,393 kilometres long.

The revolt also marked the beginning of a basis for East-West relations which later led in treaty form to the juxtapostion and coexistence of the two Germanies.

The signatures under the Berlin Agreement, the treaties with Moscow, Warsaw and Prague, and the Bonn Agreement represented the perhaps most important turning-point in European post-war history: the acknowledgement of the priority of the freedom of Germans over their unity.

These agreements and treaties laid the foundations for a realistic Deutschlandpolitik for respective governments in Bonn.

Various arrangements since then have tried to achieve as much freedom of movement, establish as much common ground and make the borders as permeable as possible.

Furthermore, economic and financial support has set out to improve the living conditions of East Germans.

The priority of freedom also meant a political declaration of intent not to sacrifice the gift of freedom given to Germans west of the Elbe and Werra to any compromise agreement on unity.

This is the "message" of 17 June 1953 and it is worth thinking about the fate of a divided German nation and a divided Europe on this commemoration day.

Political self-assertion in the European context, particularly in view of the purported "new thinking" in the Soviet Union, does not require short-winded politicians who keep a lookout for any sign of an offer of German reunification by the Soviet Union.

What is needed is an awareness of the historical dimension, patience and circumspection.

Those who would like Germans to pursue an adventurous policy of their own in the heart of Europe — a demand currently forwarded by a number of politicians in connection with the disarmament and security policy discussion — have not understood the lessons of a sorrowful past.

The unity of Germany cannot rank as a value in itself.

It would have have to both safeguard and bring about freedom.

This could only be achieved in a world with a new international order, lacking the mistrust of East-West antagonisms and the force fields of political power-mindedness.

Until such a world exists German politics can only bear fruit in a symbiosis with the political and security policy values of western democracies.

This is the only path likely to make the tragedy of division more palatable and sustain an awareness of Germans for their common culture and history on both sides of the dividing line.

The dividing walls only serve to constantly remind the people on both sides of the force used by those who rule.

The demonstration of power over a new political geography became clear for the first time thirty-four years ago.

Since then the Soviet Union has repeatedly made it clear that it will not tolerate shifts in the altered boundaries.

Its attempt to answer to the German Question is a long-term one.

The final answer can only be given by the Germans themselves via patient and peaceful efforts to extend the scope of freedom within which the idea of unity can live on.

Friedhelm Kemna

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 17 June 1987)

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everything to the courts, which could well find Hamadei guilty and sentence him to prison in the Federal Republic.

After a suitable period of grace he might then be deported to Lebanon. It wouldn't be the first time this had been done in Germany.

In all probability nothing short of absolute frankness among all concerned will be of any help, and, frankly, there is no international anti-terrorist front, desirable though it might be.

All governments affected — be they the US, British or French — have decided in favour of national considerations when faced with a similar dilemma.

In other words, they have set greater store by the interests of their nationals than by the much-vaunted common cause against terrorism.

President Reagan's failed bid to trade US hostages for arms to Iran is surely the most striking instance.

So ought a German government to set a better example? It can hardly be expected to do so, especially as proof is very hard to come by in cases involving the Middle East.

It isn't an area in which examples can be set, which isn't to say that a deal can be struck (and the hostages will be released), not to mention the consequences of successful blackmail.

Deporting Hamadei without first securing the hostages' release would be more than negligent. Safety first, second and third must be the priorities.

Otherwise the German authorities will run the risk of an amateurish fiasco in addition to bad blood with the United States.

Gerhard von Glinski

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 19 June 1987)

East Berlin rock-fan riot 'an invention by Western Press'

East Berlin police clashed with several thousand young East Berliners this month in an attempt to stop them hearing a rock concert on the other side of The Wall.

Performers including British rock singer David Bowie were playing hard by the Wall in front of the Brandenburg Gate, near the old Reichstag building.

But they ended up chanting "Down with the wall" and throwing catcalls.

Western pressmen were jostled. The East Berlin government said it hadn't really happened, that it was all made up by the Western media. But people on both sides of The Wall were able to see for themselves on Western television.

Although this was no real revolt against the socialist East German state, it was an outburst of rage which did reveal a lot about what is happening inside East Germany.

It showed a generation which is tired of the hollow phrases about the blessings of socialism.

This flare-up of emotion and disappointment occurred at a time when the East German authorities are doing all they can to promote an image of "normality".

The celebrations to mark the 750th anniversary of Berlin came at just the right time.

Once again East Germany tries to present itself as the true heir of all that is positive in German history.

The street-fighting in East Berlin painted a different picture.

It showed an authoritarian state which clamps down mercilessly on rebellious youngsters. The East German party leaders willingly ran the risk of western scorn to do so.

Western reporters and cameramen who wanted to record evidence of this ugly occurrence in the otherwise well-organised East Berlin anniversary programme were jostled by police.

The action taken by the East German authorities is a flagrant violation of the spirit and the letter of the CSCE accords. The West should not tolerate such an infringement.

The statement issued by the official East German news agency ADN referred to the tumult as a figment of western press imagination.

No East German citizen will swallow this version, and the East German authorities know it.

The denial indicates the utter dismay of East Berlin's security organs that something happened which should not have.

This kind of thing is still possible in year one of *glasnost*, which Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov untiringly proclaims as the noble objective of socialist democracy.

East Germany, however, never really took to the Soviet calls for greater "openness".

This explains why what was unthinkable only just a few months ago has now become reality, namely that young East Germans are publicly calling for "Gorbachov".

They must regard the complacent rule of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) as hopelessly ossified if the name of the dynamic head of the Kremlin is cited to criticise the East German regime.

This observation indicates what the unintentionally dramatic implications of Moscow's slackening of the reins *could* be in those Communist countries which are more strongly exposed to the tempting lure of western democracy than the Soviet Union itself.

The fact that the rebellious youngsters in East Berlin started singing the German national anthem and the Internationale is just as significant as their demands to tear down the Berlin Wall.

Of course, young people like to provoke, and they know only too well how to annoy "their" state.

Nevertheless, it is fair to claim that there is a greater sense of "all-Germanness" in East Germany than in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This is particularly the case when people are painfully reminded of what they are missing.

East German youth is regimented by narrow-minded authorities and excluded from the (often overestimated) opportunities provided by the West. This causes anger and contempt for the system.

The young East Germans on which the SED has always pinned its hoped is at best indifferent.

Or, as the events in East Berlin showed, openly rebellious.

The dramatic events in East Berlin, however, do not indicate a dramatic development in East Germany as a whole.

The People's Police and the state security authorities still have everything

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Honecker again thinks about visiting Bonn

It is known that East German leader Erich Honecker wants to visit West Germany. Last time a visit was mooted — in 1984 — it was cancelled after a long, confusing and annoying humming and hawing.

Honecker said at the beginning of this month that a visit is "very likely" in the near future. So although the merry-go-round of speculation can begin once again, there is a great deal to suggest that Moscow won't stop him this time as it did in 1984.

In the foreign policy field at least, East Berlin is playing the same tune as the Kremlin. Emphasis is being placed on efforts to gain the support of Western Europe.

Honecker probably feels that his prospects of taking advantage of the opportunity prised wide open by the double-zero solution are good.

After all, the general-secretary of the Socialist Unity Party, who will soon be 75, is not getting any younger.

A visit to the Federal Republic would undoubtedly be the culmination of his life's work, the seal of an era in which East Germany has (not without success) tried to promote an image of a member of the European family of states with an independent voice.

The composed way in which Bonn government spokesman Friedhelm Ost commented on Honecker's optimism is the best way to react.

Past experience has shown how suddenly the temperature of German-German relations can fall.

Arnd Bäucker

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 June 1987)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Both regret and relief as Willy Brandt steps down

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The tributes paid to Willy Brandt, the standing ovation after his final speech as SPD leader and the emotion shown by delegates at a special party conference were as genuine as their sober relief that he has at last stepped down.

He led the Social Democrats for nearly 25 years, through crests and troughs. More than any other postwar Social Democrat he stood for the SPD's history, spirit and soul.

But towards the end he provided little leadership. He presided and vacillated. It was time to go.

He is the last of the four leading Social Democrats who gave the oldest political party in Germany a new look after the Second World War.

Fritz Erler, the most brilliant of the four intellectually, had his promising career nipped in the bud when he died early in 1967.

Helmut Schmidt, the soundest statesman among them, alienated himself from the party and was undeservedly ousted as Chancellor despite his merits.

Herbert Wehner, the most impassioned, was tired and weary well before he finally retired. When the SPD was forced to return to the Opposition benches in Bonn in October 1982 he withdrew, an embittered figure, to his holiday home on the Swedish island of Öland.

Willy Brandt, the triumphant survivor and wearer of August Bebel's pocket watch, failed to see that it was time for him to go and finally came an unexpected cropper in connection with a weird staff appointment.

The end of Willy Brandt's crisis-laden career was in character with his political life. Not for him mere death like Bebel, the founder of the party over a century ago, like Kurt Schumacher, who refounded it after the war, or like Erich Ollenhauer, who died in office as SPD leader.

Brandt himself decided to call it a day. Self-willed as he has always been, he stayed true to himself: neither a lifelong party official nor a paragon of loyalty and martyrdom.

Willy, as people near and far call him in first-name fashion, has chosen to end his career on a human note: as a man who is far from infallible, a lover of life, easily hurt, given to thinking in terms of contradictions and to acting in terms of alternatives, frank — in his own way — and flexible even in his mid-70s.

He joined the SPD at 16, only to switch soon afterward to a left-wing splinter group, the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), which he felt came closer to his ideals.

If in doubt, keep left may not be a fitting motto for everything he has done in life, but it is certainly appropriate to many chapters in the life story of an emotional, committed socialist.

When he left Germany in 1933 as a wanted man — wanted by the Nazis — surely it was not he who had betrayed Germany but Germany that had betrayed him.

Was he, as an émigré, a coward? In 1933 Brandt the émigré risked his life to work undercover in Berlin for a better Germany.

Yet the ill-wishers who cast aspersions on him in the 1960s when he stood for Chancellor have still not ceased to brand him a coward for having left Nazi Germany.

A sense of insult and bouts of resignation may not befit such a high-calibre political career, but they are typical of Willy Brandt.

When he failed in his second attempt to lead the SPD to victory in the 1965 general election he inwardly abandoned hope.

His friends, and in those days they included Herbert Wehner, almost had to carry him bodily, a mentally and emotionally weary Willy Brandt, into office as Foreign Minister in Chancellor Kiesinger's Grand Coalition cabinet.

But he regained interest, pleasure and strength, and in 1969, with the backing of Walter Scheel's Free Democrats as coalition partner, he finally, third time lucky, became the Federal Republic's first SPD Chancellor.

He was forced to resign in 1974, nominally on account of an East Berlin spy on his staff at the Chancellor's Office, but due at least in part to his economic incompetence and the flagging pace of reforms so forcefully begun.

His fall seemed final, with no comeback envisaged. Politically, healthwise and in private life he went through his worst crisis ever.

German leaders who fail to make the grade have always been put out to graze, but Brandt, different in this as in other respects, demonstrated the staying power of which even the unstable can be capable.

He recovered and went on to carve out an amazing late career. It lasted 13 years, perhaps a little too long, but it bore fruit.

Any balance sheet of Willy Brandt's life's work is bound to begin in Berlin, where he was Mayor from 1957 to 1966.

Under Mayor Brandt the divided city demonstrated resolution when times were hard (he was mayor in 1961 when the Berlin Wall was built), a cosmopolitan outlook toward the West, readiness to talk with the East and international popularity.

Berlin was the acid test and school for thought of a man who led the Federal Republic, in the face of embittered domestic resistance, to neighbourly relations with a previously hostile East.

In abandoning the illusion of reunification and coming to terms with the East, setting seal to reconciliation by concluding treaties with the East Bloc, he laid a further important German policy foundation.

This courageous tour de force of humanitarian common sense was the historic achievement of a statesman and Nobel peace laureate on whom views still differ.

Ostpolitik, as the disarmament talks have again shown, is not yet over by any means, and no matter what some politicians may believe, Westpolitik is no substitute for it.

Yet under Brandt's successor as Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, imagination paled in dealings with the communist states.

That being so, one of Brandt's underrated achievements is to have stalled SPD criticism of Helmut Schmidt as a Chancellor primarily interested in economic affairs and crisis management.

Many Social Democrats took a dim view of the dismissive attitude of their level-headed Chancellor toward utopias. There were rumblings behind the scenes.

Brandt held the wings of the party together with paternal tolerance and cloudy compromise formulas for as long as the Free Democrats were prepared to go along with the SPD in joint harness in Bonn.

Then the bubble of the SPD as the party of government burst. In its final years in power in Bonn the party simply lacked the strength to lend constructive support to unpopular exigencies of government.

Many Germans have paid too little heed to Brandt's worldwide reputation as a friend of the developing countries, a supporter of democratic processes abroad and an impassioned opponent of rearmament and militarism.

Triumphant survivor. . . Willy Brandt. (Photo: [illegible])

This is yet another instance of the prophet counting for more abroad than in his own country, where his kneeling in front of the Warsaw ghetto memorial in 1970, an atonement gesture of almost religious dimensions, is still viewed with mixed feelings.

Yet internationally this gesture [illegible] dams of mistrust and credibly testified [illegible] the Germans having turned their back on Nazi crimes.

As honorary president of the SPD, a post specially created for him, he was resplendent on a pedestal from which, at times, he has seemed to preside in the past.

He adopted as camouflage the pose of stoic impassivity in the face of virtually irreconcilable conflict between reformers and conservatives in the SPD.

It would be characteristic of Willy Brandt, now he no longer needs to bear considerations of office in mind, if he were to descend from his pedestal more often and to speak his mind (or write it).

Pleasure at being able to do both should soon outweigh the pain of having been little short of being voted out of office as SPD leader.

Jens Gundlach

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 June 1987)

Carlo Schmid's major role in post-war politics

Carlo Schmid was one of the leading personalities in postwar German politics. He qualified as a university lecturer in international law in 1929 but his academic career marked time between 1933 and 1945.

From 1947 to 1950, Schmid, a Social Democrat, was Justice Minister of Württemberg-Hohenzollern. In 1959 he stood as Opposition candidate for head of state, losing to Heinrich Lübke.

In 1966, at 70, he was finally appointed to the Bonn Cabinet — as Minister of Bundesrat and *Länder* Affairs in Chancellor Kiesinger's Grand Coalition government.

His was a long road to the top, but even his political opponents were unstinting in their respect for a man who was personally not given to acrimony.

Carlo Schmid is the subject of a biography by Gerhard Hirscher, based on an Augsburg PhD thesis and published in a series edited by political scientists Dieter Nohlen, Rainer-Olaf Schultze and Wichard Woyke.

Hirscher's Carlo Schmid and the Foundation of the Federal Republic is vol. 9 in the series Studies and Texts on Political Problem Fields and Tendencies toward Change in Western Industrial Societies.

The rise of Carlo Schmid, described by Tübingen political scientist Theodor Eschenburg as a "thinker in politics," was little short of breathtaking between 1945 and 1949.

This is the period in which Hirscher is almost exclusively interested. The beginning of Schmid's political career was also its climax.



Breathtaking rise . . . Carlo Schmid. (Photo: dpa)

Nowadays, with politicians usually expected to work their way up through the ranks, such a meteoric rise by a newcomer would be virtually impossible.

In his case it would be made even more difficult by occasional traces of an unworldly, senior common room outlook (as in connection with his concept of the Federal Republic and its institutions as "provisional").

In 1945 he joined the Anti-Fascist Bloc (and was instrumental in its change of name to Democratic Association)

He went on to become a *Land* official in charge of education, then head of the state secretariat and Justice Minister of Württemberg-Hohenzollern.

Hirscher deals mainly with Schmid's constitutional views between 1945 and 1949.

He was a member of the Württemberg-Baden constitutional committee, of the Herrenchiemsee Convention and of the Parliamentary Council, where he chaired the steering committee and was Konrad Adenauer's adversary.

His constitutional views are found to have had "a large degree of consistency and continuity."

A comprehensive catalogue of human rights was to be laid down, including a ban on capital punishment and guarantees of the right of asylum and conscientious objection to military service.

Given past experience he felt the constitution needed to be guaranteed and protected. Academics in particular must be loyal to the constitution.

He was among the first advocates of the constructive vote of no-confidence by which a head of government can only be ousted in a vote that automatically names his successor.

He took a dim view of plebiscites and was an impassioned supporter of a pro-

Continued on page 11

■ PERSPECTIVE

Running silent and running deep to keep the sea lanes secure

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Details of western nuclear submarines' operations are not discussed — but it is known that they try to keep track of Soviet submarines equipped with strategic nuclear missiles.

Not only US "attack submarines", but also British submarines cruise close to Soviet bases such as Murmansk in the Barents Sea, the backyard of the Soviet navy.

This strategy is to force the Soviet Union to deploy a large section of its own fleet, including its most modern submarines, to safeguard strategic shipping.

This, the idea runs, reduces the threat to western shipping routes in the Atlantic.

The commander-in-chief of the British fleet, Sir Nicholas Hunt, who is also Nato commander East Atlantic and C in C of the English Channel region, says: "We often have to move into the Barents Sea, if only to reconnoitre the area".

His staff officers explain that British ships also have to operate "right up front, even under the Arctic ice" in times of peace.

The task of the "Striking Fleet Atlantic", the three to four aircraft carriers and their escort ships whose fighter-bombers would have to attack Soviet surface ships, naval and air bases on the Kola Peninsula, is also characterised as "offensive".

This, however, is not regarded as a threat to strategic stability.

According to Admiral Hunt any action against the Soviet second-strike capability presupposes a political decision and depends on specific circumstances.

This does not mean that no action is taken against strategic submarines, which can be acoustically distinguished from other submarines.

The deployment of western naval forces in the area around northern Norway is legitimate, it is claimed, since these are international waters.

Nato regulations exist for any action taken against strategic shipping. The US national regulations are probably very similar.

There can be no talk of a "new maritime strategy", say British naval commanders. Only the declarations made by the Americans and the fact that their aircraft carriers have recently been more frequently involved in manoeuvres high up in the Norwegian Sea are new.

Admiral Hunt is convinced that Europe could not survive without safe shipping routes and an appropriate maritime strategy.

At the supreme command headquarters in Northwood this fact is illustrated via reference to supplies and reinforcements.

During the first 30 days of a situation marked by tension or conflict 30 brigades would be moved from America to Europe and 100 squadrons of combat aircraft.

Over a period of 180 days, however, a total of 1.5 million soldiers, 8.5 million tons of munitions and supplies, and 114 million barrels of fuel would have to transported. This corresponds to about 3,000 shiploads.

Even though the airlift capacity is substantial, only 10 per cent could be transported by plane, the rest by sea.

The increased capability of Soviet submarines, surface combat vessels and naval aircraft is not the only cause of concern.

The activities of the Soviet merchant navy are also being closely observed.

Merchant shipping and the fishing fleet could carry out espionage and sabotage or lay mines.

Admiral Hunt referred to a current figure of 73 Soviet ships in West-European ports, 25 in British ports.

The western concept of maritime strategy is one of a deeply structured echelon of defence.

In a markedly "forward" position western submarines could be deployed as well as aircraft to combat the Soviet surface fleet trying to protect its own submarines.

In a "barrier operation" in the area between Greenland-Iceland and Britain efforts would be made out of the range of most Soviet aircraft to prevent Soviet submarines from moving into the Atlantic.

In addition, important naval units and convoys would be covered by back-up forces.

The Northwood bunker headquarters also coordinates the aircraft operations with the help of the 118 officers there from eight nations.

The — national — command of the British fleet can establish split-second contact with all ships.

Great importance is attached to a balanced naval force, with minesweepers, frigates and destroyers as well as naval aircraft and submarines.

Although aircraft can detect and attack submarines faster, only frigates with long-range sonar equipment and helicopters on board can constantly monitor naval zones and protect other ships against air attacks.

In Northwood Rear-Admiral Heaslip, who is responsible for submarine operations, claimed that the West still has a qualitative lead over the Soviet Union in this field.

Nevertheless, he emphasised, this should not lead to complacency, since the Soviet navy is learning and catching up fast.

The West, he added, is superior in terms of the quality of its seamen and computers; western submarines are still more quiet than Soviet submarines.

Naval experts in Northwood maintain that, as a rule, they know where Soviet submarines are, even though the exact location of all submarines at all times is virtually impossible.

The fact that the Americans sounded the alarm in April when five Soviet strategic submarines started operating off the US Atlantic coast instead of the usual three gives an idea of how up-to-date the regular information network is.

The general opinion in Northwood is that it is unlikely that the movements of British Polaris submarines are monitored by Soviet anti-submarine submarines.

As regards the delicate relationship with France and its strategic submarines the British naval commanders described cooperation with the French navy as close.

"Some kind of underwater traffic control is also necessary — to prevent collisions for example."

There is a French liaison mission and regular talks take place with the commander-in-chief of the French Atlantic fleet in Brest.

Joint naval manoeuvres are also carried out, inside and outside of the Nato framework.

Admiral Hunt is full of praise for the close maritime collaboration in the western alliance.

He stresses the significance of the West German navy, even though it is not covered by "East Atlantic Command" but is under the control of the Nato C in C, General Rogers.

General Rogers is often jokingly called "Admiral", since he is also in charge of the US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Admiral Hunt also expressed his "highest respect" for the Dutch navy, above all for the number and quality of its frigates.

He described claims that the British navy is much more conservative than the army or air force and that it dwells on isolationist-cum-imperialist traditions instead of being Europe-oriented as "absolutely incorrect".

It is true, he said, that the British navy also operates "outside of the area covered by the Nato agreement, but in the interests of Nato".

There have been national British operations "for years" in the Persian Gulf region, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, the South Atlantic and the Caribbean.

Advantage is taken of every opportunity to carry out joint manoeuvres with Nato allies.

Hunt referred to a joint target exercise with the Dutch navy off the coast of Saudi Arabia.

He would also welcome joint manoeuvres with German warships.

Summing up, Admiral Hunt expressed his opinion that — despite concern over the growing Soviet maritime capabilities — the West has a realistic chance of defending itself successfully.

He would not, he said, like to change places with the naval commander on the other side.

Siegfried Thielbeer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 June 1987)

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under control, and this is unlikely to change in the near future.

Yet the SED has every reason to be concerned.

Its efforts to cushion the westward orientation of many East Germans by making it easier to travel to the West and via town-twinning programmes could backfire. The appetite for more freedom could grow.

It is doubtful whether the SED can afford to become too flexible.

German-German relations, therefore, retain the element of the unpredictable, reminding Bonn that it must think beyond the undoubtedly necessary scope of day-to-day politics.

Arnd Bäucker

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 June 1987)

■ INDUSTRY

Europe meets to help steel — and puts the problems on the back burner

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The European Commission and the 12 member-state ministers responsible for the steel industry have had to put the industry's problems on the back burner.

A decision on how the crisis-ridden industry should continue receded into the distance at the Commission meeting in Luxembourg.

The situation has become more confused than ever after Eurofer, the umbrella organisation of about 20 leading European steel producers, had to admit that attmpts to solve the problems had miscarried.

There had been no agreement by their own governments nor among members to reduce capacities, so essential, by internal arrangements on a voluntary basis.

Because of this the European Community Commission has lost about eight months in its efforts to reorganise the European steel market.

In Brussels it is being said that the situation is being thoroughly analysed, but time is short.

The quota system scheme, that has protected the European steel industry from the rough winds of the international market since 1980, runs out at the end of the year. No thought could possibly be given at present to liberalising the European steel market.

Steel demand in Europe is dropping, export opportunities are wretched and as always there are over-capacities. The crisis is still a long way from solution.

It seems now that the Commission, that approved liberalisation plans in 1985, is going to look at these plans again.

In 1985 the Commission had reason for being optimistic. There was an increase in steel demand and European Community steel producers were extraordinarily successful on export markets.

But steel demand has again sagged and there is an additional difficulty. The European steel manufacturers are in trouble because of the weak dollar that has considerably reduced exports.

American steel, that until recently had not been a factor of any consequence in world markets, has become competitive all over the world, even on the Japanese market. According to statements made by experts in Brussels the Europeans have not been able to supply "a gram of steel" to the Japanese.

The European Community cannot compete in the Third World with cheap supplies from Argentinian, South Korean and Taiwanese steel manufacturers.

Then there is a decline in demand for steel in the European Community itself.

From 1980 to 1985 the European steel industry reduced capacities for hot rolled steel by 31 million tons and 175,000 jobs in the industry were lost.

But there are today still over-capacities of between 20 and 25 million tons.

The Commission reckons that up to 1990 there is an over-capacity of 30 million tons.

It is estimated in Brussels that if over-capacities are to be really reduced and the European steel market re-organised then between 75,000 to 80,000 jobs would have to go, 20,000 of them in the Federal Republic.

These figures highlight the political implications streamlining measures for the European steel industry have. They might be economically necessary but they are socially intolerable.

This has been emphasised by the demonstrations of steelworkers, threatened with redundancy, in the Rhine and Ruhr areas.

The Commission is considering how to make structural adjustments more tolerable to people and affected regions. It is looking at how to foster diversification plans among firms and how jobs in other industries in the region can be created.

But Brussels does not have much room for manoeuvre because of the Community's lack of cash.

Community officials are currently examining the Community's coal and steel budget to ferret out funds for re-structuring aid. But the sums saved or re-allocated would probably be little more than a drop in the ocean.

It is not surprising that governments fear the social and electoral-political effects of reducing steel production capacities.

World steel production
In millions of tons
1974 704
per cent
714 1986
Developing and threshhold nations: 8% — 20%
East Bloc: 26% — 31%
Western indust. nations: 66% — 49%

In the past few weeks many European steel companies more or less openly requested that the Community should tolerate public financial aid to the industry. It has been no secret for some time that major steel producers in France, Belgium and the Saar would not be able to survive this year or next without subsidies.

Most European steel producers agreed that the present quota system must be maintained. The attraction to mothball capacities is only there when production quotas can be sold.

The company that sells its quota would receive cash to finance a redundancy scheme. The company that purchases quotas up for sale can then better utilise its capacities. There are a few governments that argue along these lines.

Bonn is resisting liberalisation. Brussels, however, is holding firmly to liberalisation plans and from next year onwards will exclude from the quota system wire rod, round bar and sectional steel production.

Private West German companies fear competitive disadvantages from state owned steel organisations in neighbouring countries. They suspect that state subsidies will be given by the back door to safeguard jobs, despite Community prohibitions.

It is not quite clear what the Commission will opt for, maintaining the present quota system or setting in motion liberalisation measures.

The Council of Ministers discreetly discussed the steel problem in Luxembourg. But before the election British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher avoided all talk of closures under any conditions.

The Commission will present its proposals before the end of the summer recess. The Council of Ministers will come to decisions at the earliest in autumn.

Thomas Gack

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1 June 1987)

Plans being drawn up to help redundant steelworkers

The Bonn government has clearly expressed the determination to provide funds to promote regional economies and so create alternative jobs in other industries for redundant steelworkers.

In Bonn government circles it was being said that steel industry areas should be more effectively integrated into the regional economy and that equal treatment would be given to the coastal regions in the north of the country that have been badly hit by the steel crisis.

These statements were made the day before Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his ministers had fresh discussions with representatives of the iron and steel industry association and trade unionists from IG Metall, the engineering union.

The government's views are applicable to Hattingen in the Ruhr and other centres of the steel industry in North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria and the Saar.

The planning committee for the promotion of regional economies will come to decisions at the beginning of next month.

In addition aid will be given to workers in the Pirmasen shoe industry, also threatened with redundancy.

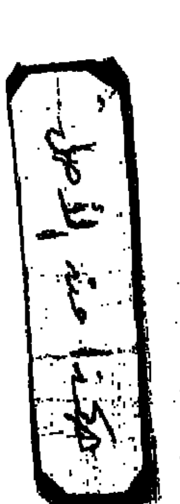
It is estimated that between DM150m and DM200m will be needed. Central government will have to make cuts in other parts of the next national budget to provide these funds.

We have it on good authority that Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is prepared to make the necessary shifts in the 1988 budget.

But he is energetically resisting state subsidies to compensation schemes for steelworkers who retire at 55. Current legislation makes employers liable for these costs.

There is little inclination in the Economic Affairs Ministry also to relieve employers of their responsibilities for

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■ BUSINESS

German cash register rings menacingly deep in IBM's backyard

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

With the new German cash registers we can really give our customers better and faster service, says a Montgomery Ward cashier.

She and other store staff can now handle all the tiresome organisational work with computerised cash-desk support.

An order for, say, a freezer is keyed into the computer. The cash register prints out the delivery note, the order is inventorised and the freezer is itemised for delivery.

All the cashier now needs to do is ask the customer when he or she can take delivery. Delivery dates and rounds are printed out for perusal.

This pushbutton service is only possible because most US families — two out of three in Montgomery Ward's case — are in the department stores' records.

The new integrated cash register system is intended to make the third-largest US department store more competitive after a period of internal turbulence.

For Nixdorf, the Paderborn computer systems company, the Montgomery Ward contract means a firm foothold at last in the US market. For IBM it must be a confounded nuisance.

A mere 4.7 per cent of Nixdorf's DM3.7bn turnover last year was US business, so the German David has clinched a lucrative $100m contract on IBM's home ground.

It did so even though IBM's terms were $3m to $4m less expensive, says Arno Bohn, executive vice-president of the Nixdorf AG.

As the 15,000 Nixdorf cash registers are installed at the 290 Montgomery Ward stores — between now and 1990 — the old IBM and NCR cash desks will be phased out. Only the central computers will continue to be US-made.

So Nixdorf has got off to a fine start in the US market. How it fares in the long term will clearly depend to a large extent on the counter-measures undertaken by US computer manufacturers.

Nixdorf will certainly not make life easy for US firms, not even in their home market. The Westphalian computer manufacturers have prepared their invasion well in advance.

There has been a Nixdorf subsidiary in the United States since 1972, based first in Chicago then near Boston. The company now has offices and service facilities in 110 cities.

This network will be aimed mainly at banks and traders as customers. Both are sectors in which Nixdorf are powerfully placed in Germany.

Bohn says the company plans to reach DM1bn in US turnover in five or six years, by which time Nixdorf will have a US payroll of 5,000.

These are ambitious targets. This year Nixdorf's US operations, with a payroll of 1,500, plan to gross $150m, or roughly DM270m.

To make sure it stays on target the parent company has substantially enlarged its observation post in Silicon Valley.

At the Nixdorf technology centre in Santa Clara, California, a hand-picked team of 20 Nixdorf specialists, most flown over from Germany, are keeping an eye on the competition.

They analyse technical developments, check applications and, arguably most important of all, establish and nurse contacts.

That, says Günter Frommel, the centre's founder and head, is the only way to find out about the latest developments. "No-one is going to put his findings in an envelope and mail them to Germany," he says.

The Nixdorf team seems to be on the best of terms with other firms in Silicon Valley. There can be no other explanation for the range and extent of cooperation.

Together with Amdahl Nixdorf has plunged into work on a standard operating system. Twelve Nixdorf specialists are to work at Amdahl's idyllic headquarters, joining forces with the US corporation on the Unix system, which, they both feel, has a key role to play in systems development.

The Nixdorf men are on Nixdorf's payroll and there is no financial participation in ties between the two companies, says Nixdorf PRO Rolf Prey.

Their close contacts are the result of personal commitment by Heinz Nixdorf in the early 1970s.

Nixdorf does not just do development work in Silicon Valley; it also buys components in sunny California. Chips are designed in Paderborn and manufactured at the LSI Logic semiconductor works.

A big chip

Nixdorf is the US chip manufacturer's leading European customer, using 300,000 chips a day.

Nixdorf is stepping on the gas in the US market in a spirit of optimism. Its solution-oriented strategy is expected to do well in the world's largest computer market.

The company is confident its long-term approach will fare well in competition with the short-term US outlook.

It remains to be seen whether Nixdorf will stay on target in such turbulent times. Forecasts, especially for the leading manufacturers, are far from encouraging.

Growth rates of 10 per cent — and not Nixdorf's 25-per-cent target — are expected in the years ahead.

But Nixdorf has a product US customers have yet to be offered on the scale the German company can supply it. It sells solutions rather than hardware and a programme.

Inge Nowak

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 June 1987)

The spectre of the corporate marauder

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Executives of leading German firms are worried that foreign groups may move into the German market, offer attractive take-over terms and snap up German companies at bargain basement prices.

Take-over bids, asset stripping and the like are standard practice in the United States and other Western countries — and German firms are going for a song.

Veba, the power and heavy industry conglomerate, is worth about DM12bn in terms of share prices. The share capital of BASF, one of the Federal Republic's Big Three chemicals companies, is worth DM15.5bn.

These are sums that are not an insuperable obstacle for large US corporations nowadays. Corporate raiders won't need telling; they already know.

Despite repeated assurances that there are no signs of take-over moves there has been a resurgence of interest in precautionary measures.

It is rather like the situation 10 years ago when German companies were worried they might face concerted take-over bids by petrodollar interests.

Mainly at the suggestion of Deutsche Bank, Germany's largest, many German companies introduced a maximum voting percentage shareholders could exercise at general meetings.

The aim was to discourage stock buyers who sought to influence managements. The debate has been resurrected by Veba's announcement of its intention to limit voting rights to five per cent of share capital.

The German Shareholders' Protection Society, a pep group representing small shareholders, has announced its intention of opposing the plan.

But it looks like fighting a losing battle. The banks have advised clients who hold Veba shares to vote in favour of the five-per-cent ruling.

Members of the society are unlikely ever to hold five per cent of Veba's share capital, which would be worth about DM600m, but they are opposed to the proposal as a matter of principle.

They feel it is a deliberate inroad on shareholder's proprietary rights, and there can be no denying that voting rights are an important and valuable feature of share ownership.

Not for nothing are non-voting shares usually paid a higher dividend than the voting variety. This bonus offsets the voting rights forfeited. Yet non-voting shares have a lower market value.

A voting share in Volkswagen is currently worth about DM375 on the stock market; the going price for a non-voting share is about DM35 less. Voting shares in Lufthansa are quoted at roughly DM180, non-voting shares at over DM30 less.

These figures prove that voting rights have a quantifiable market value even for small shareholders — due to the simple possibility that someone might want to move in and influence company policy.

This can only be done by ownership

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■ TRANSPORT

Mozart on the Blue Danube — without much to spare

DIE WELT

The white cap and the four gold bars on his epaulettes indicate that he is the captain of the ship.

His round tummy under his blue service jacket shows that he eats well, sometimes because his duties as a captain oblige him to do so.

This morning Otto Ziehengrasser is standing in the rain, drumming his fingers on the steering panel on the starboard side of the ship that is bobbing up and down in mid-stream on the Danube.

Something is bothering him so he speaks in his soft Viennese dialect into his walkie talkie: "I'd like to know what's going on up front. Let me know something. I can't see a thing from here."

He is standing on the green painted deck, looking up the 120 meters or more of the ship's length. He can see more of the misty landscape than of the bow and the stern of his ship.

Old hands say that steering a vessel on inland waterways and rivers is more a matter of feel than anything else. Otto Ziehengrasser must get the right feel for his new ship.

He is 51 and certainly not without experience. For the past 33 years he has been a captain and has recently taken over command of the flagship of the Vienna-based Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft fleet.

But this day there is a lot new, for never before has a captain stood on such a large inland waterways vessel as this one that bears the name "Mozart" in brass letters on her bow.

Despite the rain a new chapter in the history of inland shipping is being written at Deggendorf on the Danube in Lower Bavaria, when the command is given "let go all" for the world's largest inland waterway vessel.

Many will be baffled, rub their eyes and look for this Deggendorf on the map, where maritime history is being made.

It is on the Danube between Regensburg and Passau, where national highway B 11 goes off into the Black Forest. It is not well known for being one of West Germany's highly industrialised regions.

In winter the Deggendorf area has the highest unemployment figure, but in this Deggendorf, population 30,539, a superlative vessel was planned, steel plates were riveted to steel plates and a record-breaking ship launched.

The specifications alone are impressive: 120.60 metres in length, 22.86 on the beam. It is so long that it can only be eased into the locks "with a shoe-horn," as the spokesman for the shipping line, Gerwald Dvorak, proudly said.

There will be only centimetres to spare when the "Mozart" goes on her way from Passau to the Black Sea and back and has to thread her way through the locks on the Danube.

When the vessel passes under some bridges the railing and wind protectors will have to be folded back and the operation cabin will have to be countersunk into the deck.

Then the captain can only oversee the bow and stern by radar and two monitor screens.

Dvorak is certain that a larger vessel for the Danube will never be built. It could be a little longer but from a practical viewpoint there is little room for expansion, because the vessel must be able to turn on the waterway.

The interior decoration in the ship is also impressive. It is the first time that a floating five-star hotel has operated on the Danube. Dvorak said: "There is nothing more luxurious plying the river."

There is a lot of mahogany and brass giving the "Mozart" the air of a luxury cruise liner.

Even the cabins are king-size. Ships on the Danube usually offer 12 square metres of space for a double cabin, but the 100 on the "Mozart" are 19 square metres in size.

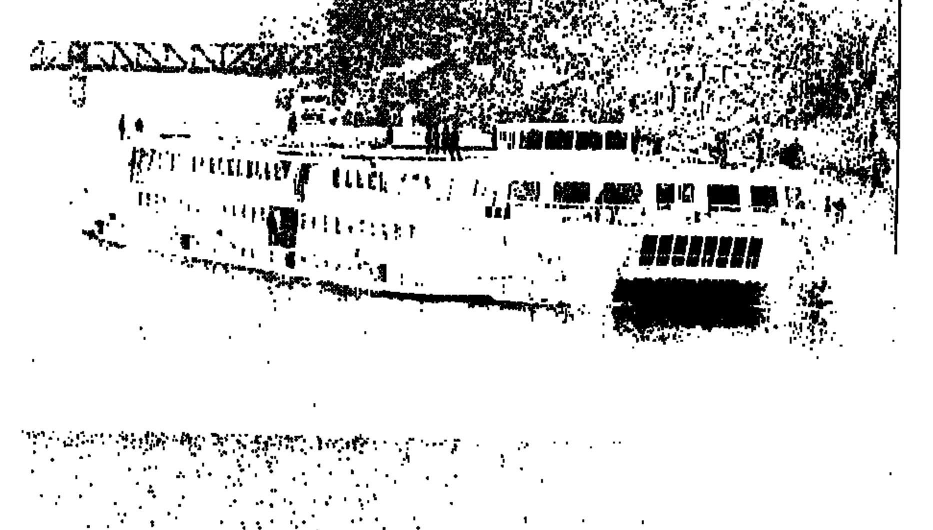
It is only just a little more cramped in the three-bed interior cabins, and, of course, the 75 crew members are closer together. But the same holds truth for the best cruise liners in the Caribbean.

Just as on a cruise liner there is a hairdresser and a video-studio for on board television, a printing press and a masseur, a swimming pool and a laundry, a waste-disposal unit (the first one ever on a Danube cruise ship) and a drinking water purification unit.

The ship also includes a dazzling kitchen to provide the 299 passengers with the best cuisine that has ever been served on Danube vessels five times a day.

In fact the "Mozart" has everything that a cruise ship sailing between Miami and Jamaica has, with three small differences; there is little likelihood of seasickness on the relatively calm waters of the Danube, around Vienna it rains a lot more than it does in the Virgin Islands and there is hardly a palm tree to be seen on the Danube's banks.

There is one other thing that rolls round better on the "Mozart" than on a cruise liner; the roulette ball. On the port side there is a double-door with the enticing word "Casino" on it in brass, but it is uncertain whether behind the doors the muffled request to "faites vos jeux" will ever be heard.



Everything except sea-sickness . . . The *Mozart* on the Danube. (Photo: K

Spokesman Dvorak said that in some of the riparian states there were varying gambling laws and taxes.

In June, at the Reichsbrücke in Vienna, Christina Vranitzky, wife of the Austrian Chancellor, will break a bottle of champagne against the vessel's double bow, naming her "Mozart".

In August the vessel will take on board her first passengers.

During the naming ceremony Chancellor Vranitzky can consider whether, from the Viennese viewpoint, it made economic sense to let the DM40 million contract go to the "Piefkes," the Germans, when Austrian state shipyards had bid for it.

But executives in the Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft kept their heads when it came to economic considerations.

There were *five shipyards competing* for the newbuilding contract so they could chose. They settled for the Deggendorf quotation because of "price and delivery time."

A similar argument could be heard when Lloydwerft in Bremerhaven captured the convertion contract for the British luxury liner *Queen Elizabeth II*.

But executives in Deggendorf avoid making other comparisons. One said: "There will be no chaos on the Mozart's maiden voyage."

That is unlikely because the maiden voyage is not scheduled to take place until 30 April 1988. All trips before that date will only be trial runs.

Deggendorf executives believe they have a golden future before them. Marine engineer Bernard Vollmer said: "We are now getting enquiries the like of which we never had before."

It is all a question of what the Deggendorf yards have to offer.

The yards spent 15 months building the super-ship that will indulge passengers from overseas at cost of between DM550 and DM700 per day.

With the "Mozart" shipbuilding at Deggendorf has moved into a new phase even through the yards are not unused to handling contracts from overseas.

For more than 50 years, a good 1,000 kilometres inland from the North Sea coastline, these industrious yards have done well.

Deggendorfer Werft und Eisenbau GmbH was founded in 1924, a subsidiary of steel giant Gutehoffnungshütte of Oberhausen, now merged with MAN of Augsburg.

Until the Second World War the yards built mainly Danube vessels for the Balkan states.

After the war contracts of this type failed to materialise so the yards turned to building steam shovels that later proved to be an important development.

This excavator know-how was turned to good purpose for waterborne equipment.

There are today floating dredgers from Deggendorf all over the world, the "Draga" in Columbia for instance.

The Deggendorf yards now supply a wide range of newbuildings, ferries for Bulgaria, dumping barges for the Philippines and giant trailerships for Bulgaria.

The yards are at present building three harbour launches for the Malagasy Republic and are putting the last touches to three freighters for Iraq.

Engineer Jens Osterholz said that Deggendorf knew nothing about a crisis in shipbuilding.

But the yards avoid being totally involved in marine activities. There is a massive chemicals reactor being built in the building sheds.

Three are on the production line, one for China, one for the USSR and one for Indonesia.

These will account for a good 50 per cent of the annual turnover of DM100m, but the yards remain proud of their shipbuilding interests.

It is worth noting that no newsmen have been to Deggendorf on account of reactors.

Peter Schmalz

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 June 1987)

Continued from page 6

redundancy payments and shift this responsibility to central government.

But in the meantime the iron and steel industry association and IG Metall have agreed a plan that would cost in all at least DM1.2bn. This concept calls for central government to provde a half, DM600m, of the cash required.

According to this plan 10,000 steelworkers would be pensioned off with normal redundancy payments, a further 6,000 steelworkers would be offered jobs elsewhere and 4,000 would be re-trained for more sophisticated employment.

Without government assistance this agreement between employers and union is not worth the paper it is written on.

It has been greeted in Bonn with surprise. It is being said that the government cannot allow itself to be "blackmailed" in this manner.

The North Rhine-Westphalia SPD state government has rejected the plan in plain terms. The Employment Minister in Bonn, Norbert Blüm, has just been elected new chairman of the CDU in North Rhine-Westphalia.

He attaches great importance to the steelworkers' problems and at all costs he wants to avoid the impression that the efforts of both parties came to nothing because of the government's attitude.

In his view central government participation of perhaps DM200m spread over four years would be acceptable if North Rhine-Westphalia put up a similar sum and in this way avoided making 20,000 steelworkers jobless.

Blüm believes it is of considerable importance that young steelworkers should be re-located in jobs in the processing divisions of their steel companies, made available by early retirement of workers at 55 and pensioning off older workers.

European Community officials in Brussels must agree to this plan.

But no unambiguous decisions can be expected from the Chancellor as a result of his talks with the steel industry representatives and the union since no clear attitude has yet been decided upon within the government itself.

Hans-Henning Zencke

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 16 June 1987)

■ MOTORING

Plan to steal the fire of the Gods and make roads safer to drive on

DAS PARIAMENT

Fourteen European carmakers led by Daimler-Benz of Stuttgart are working on an eight-year high-tech project to keep road traffic moving, to reduce pollution and fuel consumption and to boost safety.

British, French, German, Italian and Swedish motor manufacturers have joined forces in Prometheus, short for Programme for European Traffic with Highest Efficiency and Unprecedented Safety.

Road safety is, of course, a reminder of last winter's mass pile-ups of hundreds of cars on German autobahns between Cologne and Aachen, in Bavaria and in the Hunsrück region, with many motorists and passengers killed and maimed.

Accidents were due to black ice, thick fog and, above all, to many motorists' inability to adjust their speed to traffic and weather conditions.

The result was a resurrection of the speed limit debate and proposals to ban autobahn traffic in fog. One aim of the Prometheus project is to ensure that these plans are shelved for good.

Last year's centenary of the motorcar prompted Daimler-Benz to launch a European research project.

Its name, Prometheus, was chosen because, according to Ancient Greek legend, Prometheus stole fire from the Gods, thereby taking mankind a step further in development.

The definition phase of the eight-year project is nearing completion. The first contracts are to be signed with electronics manufacturers by the end of the month.

The 14 carmakers plan to invest DM155m a year in the project. What high-tech fire do they hope to steal in the process?

Let us start by envisaging the result, gazing into our crystal ball at what setting out by car for a holiday destination might be like in the Promethean future.

Exhausted by the usual last-minute upsets, but with suitcases packed and stowed away, the family settle down in the lush upholstery of their new car for the drive to their summer holiday resort.

The man at the wheel is tired but elated, having been out bowling (and drinking) with workmates until the early hours and then gone home to finish packing.

Easing into the driver's seat he sighs with relief at the thought that the European Community has finally got round to revising road traffic regulations and scrapping drinking-and-driving provisions.

The family haven't bothered to check their route and don't switch on their car radio to tune in to traffic reports.

Instead, the driver keys their destination into the dashboard computer, the quickest route to the nearest autobahn is promptly flashed on to the screen and the car starts to move, at the push of a button, as though an invisible driver was in control.

It certainly isn't the man in the driver's seat. As the car zooms along the autobahn at 200kph (125mph) he reclines his seat and settles down for a well-deserved 40 winks.

This all may sound like science fiction or wishful thinking on the part of incorrigible technology freaks. Many drivers may see it as a nightmare, marking the end of driving for pleasure.

The Prometheus project aims to put it into practice. Motorists today drive their cars singlehandedly and have no real idea what lies ahead by way of congestion or bad weather. Their cars will soon provide invaluable logistical support.

In the initial stage of the project motorists will still drive their cars themselves, but vehicles will be equipped with computers that automatically make contact with oncoming cars.

Let us assume that two cars are nearing each other on a narrow, winding road. The driver on the outer side of the bend finds he is moving too fast and tries to offset the centrifugal force by cutting into the bend.

A head-on crash with the other car seems inevitable. The dashboard computer now swings into action. It is forewarned of the oncoming car by wiring in the road surface linked to its microchip brain.

It warns the driver and brakes automatically it need be, ensuring that the vehicle stays on the right side of the road. This early warning — and intervention — system will make fog, for instance, much less dangerous.

At a later stage of development cars will be run on autopilot, with automatic controls handling all functions, such as braking and accelerating, and ensuring that the car stays on track.

That will not only lead to optimum traffic flow and greater road safety; it will also contribute toward a substantial saving in energy.

Rudolf Hörning, head of technological development at Daimler-Benz, is well aware of the many misgivings and objections to the system.

Its opponents particularly include drivers who see the car as a toy and not infrequently derive much of their self-confidence from aggressive motoring.

But it the motor-car is to have a future as an individual means of transport — and the European motor industry is to remain competitive — high tech can simply not be ignored, Hörning says.

In the third and at present final stage of the project the driver will not just be able to key his destination into the dashboard computer and leave it to the controls to get him there.

He will also be able to get out of his car in the city centre and leave it to find its own parking lot. By remote control he can later retrieve it automatically too.

Japanese carmakers are worried. They were not invited to take part in the project, which is part of Eureka, the European technology programme.

Japanese cars could be much less competitive — or even banned — in Europe if they had nothing to say for themselves while European cars' computers happily communed.

It is hardly surprising that Toyota, Nissan, Mazda and Honda have now formed a similar development team under the aegis of the Japanese Transport Ministry and General Motors, Ford and Chrysler have joined forces in the United States.

How much will the high-tech car cost, one wonders, and who will be able to afford one? The idea will only make sense once all cars — without exception — are fitted out with the new technology.

Hartmut Hausmann

(Das Parlament, Bonn, 30 May 1987)

Continued from page 7

of enough voting shares at a general meeting, and these shares can only be bought from existing shareholders.

Large holdings in smaller companies, welcome or unwelcome, are far from unusual. Why should there be any difference where large firms are concerned?

Shareholders who vote in favour of a voting rights ceiling are depriving themselves of the likelihood of ever being offered lucrative take-over bid terms.

Whether the proposed amendment to a company's articles of association can effectively prevent a take-over bid is another matter.

The society says a corporate marauder would have no difficulty in blocking major policy decisions until the management had to come to terms.

Maybe that is the BASF board plan to increase from 50 to 75 per cent the majority needed to amend the articles of association — even though BASF already has a voting rights ceiling.

The board of Bayer, another of the Big Three in chemicals, even proposes to require a 75-per-cent majority of shareholders represented at general meetings to pass changes of any kind.

Kurt Wendt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 13 June 1987)

Bouquets, brickbats for Mayor Kling's rattletrap scheme

Mayor Kling of Friedberg, near Augsburg, has hit on a novel and inexpensive means of discouraging speeders.

Even after several million marks had been spent on road safety the mediaeval town centre was still made unsafe by cars and trucks travelling at over 100kph (60mph).

So the mayor bought a couple of old cars at the end of May. They just scraped through the roadworthiness test. He then parked them by the roadside on the outskirts of Friedberg, population 26,000, and left them there.

A fortnight later Mayor Kling said the idea had been surprisingly effective. Cars speeding into the town had to slow down to overtake the parked cars, keep an ye on oncoming traffic — and slow down.

The two cars, registered in the name of the town council, are to stay in service. They have merely been transferred to other approach roads.

Road safety measures usually cost several hundred thousand marks. The rusty old cars cost DM500 each, which is value indeed for a local authority with an annual budget of DM70m.

The cars are taxed and insured, even against fire and theft, and the mayor had their rear fenders sprayed with fluorescent fire engine paint to make them safer at night.

He isn't saying whether they will stay put if cars crash into them. The idea evidently worries him, so he says the move isn't a permanent solution.

The police are in no doubt that something must be done about speeding on Friedberg's roads. Chief inspector Erich Stadler says 20 per cent of through traffic is caught speeding when radar traps are in operation. Speeding is the main cause of traffic accidents.

Mayor Kling's move is bound to make speeders slow down. While the police realise that overtaking the mayor's old bangers may lead to accidents they feel the experiment is well worthwhile.

Residents who live near where the cars are parked are seemingly on their own in being less than enthusiastic.

As soon as motorists have overtaken the mayor's cars they noislly accelerate again.

Municipal roads department staff are tiring of the idea too. They have to replace flat batteries almost daily. The cars' parking lights must at least be switched on at night and be in working order for safety's sake.

Thomas Hessling of the ADAC, Germany's 7.5-million-member Munich-based motoring association, is critical of Mayor Kling's brainwave.

Some years ago, he says, a similar experiment near Hamburg failed. After a few days motorists sped past the parked cars as usual, having grown accustomed to them.

Hessling, who is a specialist in urban through roads, says this phenomenon is particularly widespread in evening rush-hour traffic and in summer after 10 p.m. when cars are driven faster in any case.

Besides, overtaking is always dangerous, and one category of road-user ought not to be exposed to danger so as to protect another.

Professor Robert Schnüll of Hanover University of Technology has no objections. He too has specialised in urban traffic for many years.

He says the obstacle must merely still allow two cars to pass each other. But he also recommends other effective means of making traffic slow down as it reaches an urban area.

Large-scale trials in North Rhine-Westphalia indicate that "sleepers," "sleeping policemen" or "speed breakers" in the road surface are most effective.

Trees that overhang the road tend to make traffic slow down too. But Professor Schnüll is particularly keen on a red light at the outskirts of town.

His red light is always red — except when oncoming vehicles are travelling at less than 50kph (30mph). This idea too is still on trial.

ddp

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 June 1987)

■ MEDICINE

Steady improvement in skin-disease therapies, doctors are told

Notable improvements in medical treatment of skin diseases have been made in recent years and more can be expected, dermatologists were told in Berlin.

Six thousand skin specialists were in the city for the 17th international dermatology congress.

New drugs can be expected to help treat at least some virus complaints that affect the skin: not spectacular new drugs but improvements in treatment schedules and on existing drugs, such as corticoids.

Glucocorticoids are hormones naturally produced in the human adrenal gland. For several decades they have also been artificially manufactured in pharmaceutical laboratories.

They are excellent for use in ointments to treat skin complaints, mainly because they so effectively retard inflammation.

Unfortunately, they can also have serious side-effects such as a pathological increase in the body's own cortisone output.

The results of this overproduction include the Cushing syndrome in adults and disturbed growth in children.

In addition to these undesirable effects on entire organic systems local side-effects, such as irritation and atrophy, can occur on parts of the skin where corticoids are applied.

So experts repeatedly warn against

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

exaggerated and irresponsible use of corticoids. They strictly object to their use for solely cosmetic purposes.

For medical reasons too, corticoid-based medicines ought only to be prescribed after a clear diagnosis — and no more than is absolutely necessary.

On the other hand, warned congress chairman Günter Stüttgen of the Rudolf Virchow Hospital, Berlin, exaggerated fears of glucocorticoids can also have detrimental consequences, especially if necessary treatment is not undertaken for fear of side-effects.

In certain cases there are no other drugs available for treatment. What matters most is to carefully consider what drugs are suitable for the patient's condition and to try the weakest drug first.

At a research gathering held by Schering, the Berlin drug manufacturers, in connection with the congress Alfred Pauls, head of the company's clinical research in this sector, stressed that people had forgotten how difficult skin complaints had been to treat before the advent of glucocorticoids.

Over the years various manufacturers have, by molecular variation, developed improved corticoid creams and ointments. "Glucocorticoid research is by no means over," he said, "and it will continue in the foreseeable future."

Drugs had been developed that did not affect organic systems as a whole, while others were several times more effective than the first corticoid ointments.

Schering research staff have evidently synthesised a glucocorticoid that largely combines the two.

It is powerfully effective locally while having very little effect on the system (and thus causing few if any "internal" side-effects).

This substance, Ampa (short for 6-Alpha-Methyprednisolonaceponate) was first used on volunteers and then on over 2,500 patients. It is definitely most effective.

Patients suffering from neurodermitis, a tormenting allergic itch encouraged by hereditary factors, showed an almost 100-per-cent improvement, their condition being either cured or greatly improved, which corresponds to the effect of powerful corticoid ointments.

Nearly 90 per cent of patients suffering from various kinds of eczema were either cured or their condition greatly improved by using Ampa once a day. In their case Ampa seems to be an improvement on existing drugs.

Tests, first with laboratory animals, then with patients, have also shown that Ampa is not just locally compatible.

It is converted on the skin in such a way that substances which enter the body are virtually ineffective and thus fail to have undesirable side-effects on the system.

Further tests will need to be carried out in connection with other questions, such as the long-term effect and undesirable side-effects in treating specific skin diseases such as psoriasis.

Schering expect to apply to the Federal Health Department for a licence to manufacture and market the drug in Germany by about the end of next year.

Yet even if Ampa was licensed, Herr Pauls said, the aim must still be only to use corticoids to the extent to which it was medically necessary to do so.

Now pharmaceutical research has evidently succeeded in separating a high local effect from the effects of skin drugs on the system, one of the next research targets must be to separate desirable, inflammation-inhibiting local effects from undesirable wasting of the skin.

Berlin specialist Michael Töpert said he felt it was most unlikely corticoids might one day be used solely to stop inflamed cells without affecting healthy skin cells.

Various firms working on drugs to treat skin complaints are engaged in a quest for entirely new approaches. Berlin companies are working on a specific substance within the "inflammation cascade."

They hope to find an "antagonist" that blocks the cell-surface receptor molecules without triggering an inflammation.

This, Töpert said, was still a distant prospect. It remained to be seen whether research in this sector would be worthwhile and what shape the inflammation-inhibitor of the year 2000 would take.

Justin Westhoff

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 June 1987)



Probe into why electric shock treatment works

Electric shock treatment is often a last resort when drugs fail to c[ure] psychotic endogenous depression.

It is a controversial method but s[uc]cessful in otherwise hopeless cases.

Research at the Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry in Munich has shed light on the mechanics of what, at first glance, seems to be a most drastic treatment.

The "curative convulsions" of electric shock treatment have yet to be convincingly explained but they are based on a meaningful biological mechanism, says Hinderk M. Emrich.

Professor Emrich is quoted from the 1/1987 issue of *MPG-Spiegel*, the journal of the Max Planck Society.

Understanding how shock treatment works, he says, may pave the way to new and less drastic methods of treating endogenous depression.

It is a complaint in which bouts of deep sorrow and depression occur, caused probably by physical maladjustment, external factors having been largely ruled out.

Genetic, hereditary factors are currently felt to play a crucial role, Professor Emrich says. If drugs that affect the patient's state of mind fail to snap him out of it, electric shock treatment is an alternative.

Under a full anaesthetic patients are given shocks that trigger epileptic fits. They are so successful in treating otherwise incurable endogenous depression that shock treatment is undergoing a renaissance in the United States and Scandinavia.

Successes claimed for "curative convulsions" are not just eyewash, research findings at the Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry show. They boost the beta-endorphine count in the patient's blood.

Beta-endorphines are a kind of endogenous opiate and attach themselves to the same nerve cell receptors as exogenous opiates the effect of which has long been known.

They are a way the body has of keeping itself under control in extreme situations. They boost performance and reduce sensitivity to suffering caused by stress, pain or injury.

The Munich research scientists are trying to find ways of activating depressive patients' opiate receptors without shock treatment.

Initial experiments with an opiate-based painkiller show this to be possible. It has proved effective in 50 per cent of cases. But as it can easily lead to addiction it can only be used in individual instances and under strict hospital supervision.

Other prospective solutions are thus being sought. The breakdown of beta-endorphines, so important for the well-being of depressive patients, is to be boosted and their concentration in the blood increased.

Experiments, Professor Emrich says, are still being carried out on laboratory animals.

Generally speaking, he feels methods of treating psychotic patients have improved considerably in recent years.

This is certainly true of manic-depressives, for whom lithium has long successfully prevented manic phases yet fails with a number of patients.

Manic states can be kept at bay by ac-

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■ NATURAL SCIENCE

Campaign begun to save the butterfly

Butterflies, or so the Ancient Greeks felt, are outward manifestations of the soul and symbols of its immortality.

The butterfly went on to become a symbol of immortality on Christian gravestones, such as that of the Romantic poet E. T. A. Hoffmann, 1776-1822, in Berlin.

A moth on his gravestone symbolises the gaily-coloured butterfly of the soul, which frees itself from man's grey and mortal frame on his death.

Unless something is done soon, the days of the gaily-coloured insects many people associate with the height of summer may be numbered.

Nine nature conservation and environmental protection organisations in several countries have joined forces in Bonn in European Environment Year to launch an international campaign to save the butterfly.

Between 40 and 50 per cent of European butterfly species face the threat of extinction, the campaigners claim.

They represent the German Environmental and Nature Protection League, the German Save the Birds Society, the German Environmental Aid Foundation, the German, Austrian and Swiss sections of the World Wildlife Fund, the Swiss Nature Protection League, the Austrian Society for Nature and Environmental Protection and the Luxembourg Museum of Natural History.

Their aim is to coordinate information and campaign activities to promote agricultural policies that conserve the environment and to lobby for a ban on the use of toxic chemicals.

Ethologist Konrad Lorenz says, in connection with the campaign, there has never been anything like it in the history of environmental protection. It was, he said, a milestone in the movement's history.

The oldest fossil remains of butterflies, found in Baltic amber, are about 70 million years old, according to a campaign brochure, but the development of fauna as known in Central Europe today did not begin until about 7,000 years ago.

There are about 3,000 varieties of butterfly in the Federal Republic, although only 1,300 of them qualify in full, comprising 177 species of butterfly and 1,100 species of moth.

About one in three varieties of moth is in danger of extinction and redlisted as an endangered species. The same goes for about half the remaining species of butterfly.

Conservationists mainly blame farmers. Intensive soil utilisation and overuse of fertiliser and pesticides have left butterflies with few if any nooks and crannies in which to survive.

Many species of bird are in danger of extinction as a result, butterflies forming a major part of their staple diet.

Butterflies have been seen as bringers of both good luck and heralds of misfortune. The Ancient Greeks saw them as a symbol of immortality and a token of grace and love.

In the tale of Amor and Psyche the "fair maiden" wears butterfly's wings.

In the Middle Ages moths darting from flower to flower were seen as witches busy going about their main business: spoiling stocks of milk and butter.

Schmetta, the root from which *Schmetterling*, the German for butterfly, derives, means the cream on the top of the milk.

Come to think of it, the word "butterfly" must logically be associated with butter!

Since the 16th century, and especially since the 19th century, butterflies have mainly been collector's items, with an entire industry based on them.

The butterfly trade is estimated to gross $100m. Taiwan, the centre of the international trade, earns between $20m and $30m a year from selling butterflies, rare specimens of which change hands at up to $7,000 each.

They don't just end up pinned into place in showcases. Taiwan companies uses up to 500 million butterflies a year to decorate place mats, bookmarks and other craft items.

The butterflies' bodies are mixed into pigs' fodder.

Many people couldn't name more than three varieties of butterfly, environmentalists say. They demand the listing of between 10 and 15 per cent of the country's surface area as nature reserve to ensure that the Red Admiral, the Cabbage White and the Swallowtail don't disappear for good one of these days.

A further 10 to 15 per cent must be reserved for near-natural biotope systems, consisting of farmland that has been allowed to go fallow.

Strict limits must be imposed on the use of fertiliser and pesticides.

The butterfly campaigners hope to reawaken more than seasonal interest in the gaily-coloured denizens of summer.

Carl Graf Hohenthal

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 June 1987)

The link between atmospheric physics and biology

Plants may not do the job of a fully-fledged meteorological service but they provide an unerring pointer to fluctuations and abnormalities in the weather.

So climate research scientists have put them to good use and developed a research sector known as phenology.

It is a bona fide branch of climate research that forges a link between atmospheric physics and biology.

Plant phenology, or the science of appearances, deals with repeated stages of development that occur in certain plants.

They indicate more clearly than any technological measuring device whether a location is suitable for crop plants in respect of favourable or unfavourable climatic factors.

Conversely, local meteorological phenomena of individual growth areas can be surveyed by terrain.

A staff of 2,600 part-timers form the backbone of the phenological observation network in the Federal Republic.

They regularly brief the head office of the meteorological service in Offenbach on the development of 36 wild plants, 18 crop plants and 13 varieties of fruit, reporting 212 specified stages of development.

Twice a year they file a comprehensive report that is computerised and evaluated in Offenbach.

Datelines on phenological charts indicate the progress of the apple blossom and with it full spring, which normally begins in mid-April in the south-western Rhine valley.

It doesn't reach northern Schleswig-Holstein and the Danish border, not to mention higher, mountain areas, until between 35 and 45 days later.

Phenologists say spring travels at a speed of 30 kilometres a day horizontally and 20 metres a day vertically.

Similar observations can be made for other seasons and vegetation periods of specific crop plants.

Information gained about areas favourable or unfavourable for crop growth can nip disastrous misinvestment in the bud.

The annual phenological calendar and dateline chart compiled by the meteorological office in Frankfurt are strictly limited in the day-to-day help the agro-meteorological department can provide.

A field service of 360 volunteers is maintained to supply daily information to enable the department to offer spot data by telephone or videotex.

These 360 volunteers phone in to report specific developments in the plant world, such as the first crocus or the first rye blossom.

The Offenbach meteorological service has a further half dozen research and advice sections to answer queries on the energy and water ecology of the soil and on plant pests and diseases.

Regional observation networks are set up for scientific programmes such as the vine service in wine-growing areas and the large-scale pollen forecasting field trials in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Phenological observation data are thus readily and gratefully used both by farmers and, indirectly, by and for hay fever sufferers.

Accurate pollen forecasting requires observation of the blossoming of allergens such as alder, hazel and poplar, mugwort and plantain.

It also calls for the latest meteorological data and local readings of pollen and spore counts.

A European observation network comprising special gardens was set up in the early 1950s to collect and evaluate phenological data on an international basis.

The International Phenological Garden network currently comprises 63 locations, including 22 in the Federal Republic.

Each contains between 26 and 49 trees and shrubs that are daily checked by skilled staff for stages of development such as the first leaves or needles, first and full bloom, the first fruit, and leaves turning brown and falling.

This network is the only one of its kind in the world in that all plants were grown as shoots taken from the same parent plant, thereby ensuring an identical genetic structure.

As the soil quality, location and climate of the gardens are unchanged throughout the plants' lifetime, variations in growth and growth patterns can only be due to climate and environmental conditions.

Zonal, meridional and vertical sections of stages of vegetation throughout Europe not only indicate the speed at which seasons move; they also indicate annual variations.

When spring gets off to an early start in Europe there is a strong likelihood of vagaries. If spring is late, variations tend to be slight.

Martin Boeckh

(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 June 1987)

Continued from page 12

tivating an inhibiting carrier substance in the brain, Max Planck research scientists found out more or less by coincidence.

It was tested because it was known to have this effect when used on epileptics and found to work with manic-depressives too.

Patients who failed to respond to lithium showed definite signs of improvement when given this substance, which is otherwise prescribed for epileptics to ease convulsions.

The average period during which a small group of patients no longer suffered from fits was extended from 10 to 41 months when combined with lithium treatment (which had proved ineffective on its own).

The same drug has proved unexpectedly useful in treating schizophrenics for whom doses of neuroleptic drugs have been increased alarmingly over the past five years.

The side-effects have grown so serious that Max Planck research scientists have been on the lookout for a kind of booster substance to enable the dosage to be reduced.

These and other successes achieved in recent decades justify in Professor Emrich's view the use of drugs to treat serious mental disturbances for which physical causes are either presumed or known to exist.

Where neuroses and other complaints caused by states of mind were concerned it was another matter entirely, he felt.

Psychotherapy seemed the most promising treatment, with tranquillisers providing no more than back-up.

Benzodiazepines, or tranquillisers, are the most widely prescribed drugs in the world and Professor Emrich says their use to this extent is, as a rule, wrong.

Dieter Schwab

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 June 1987)

■ MISCELLANY

Food and drink in the Middle Ages

German studies experts, historians, dieticians, doctors and chemists — specialists in twelve disciplines at seven universities — recently met at Giessen University to discuss eating and drinking habits in the Middle Ages and modern times.

Professor Xenia von Ertzdorff-Kupffer, who teaches German studies at Giessen University, and Trude Ehlert, a German studies lecturer in Bonn, organised the congress in cooperation with Irmgard Bitsch of the dietetics department in Giessen University.

Xenia von Ertzdorff-Kupffer said: "Over the past few years there has been an increased interest among academics and the general public about what went on in daily life and how it developed historically. Eating and drinking are very much a part of daily life. Eating and drinking underline historical change."

She continued: "What people ate was not just dependent on material conditions of the time. Religious, ethical and dietetic regulations had their effect on the make-up of meals."

The Giessen gathering was interested in throwing some light on this corner of their studies. The themes dealt with extended from the character of feasts in times of peace, with allies and communal meals to "rats and mice as items to eat in times of need."

The academics also considered changes in diet and the "psychology and pathology of digestion and its imagery in the Middle Ages" to "dietetics in use among ancient Arabs."

Little is known of what people ate in the Middle Ages or how it was prepared. Historical sources and the literature available give few details.

But, Professor von Ertzdorff-Kupffer said, one thing is certain: our ancestors ate a lot. The nobility consumed mainly game, wildfowl and fish, all heavily spiced.

Spices were expensive. They had to be imported from the Far East and were regarded as a status symbol. It has become part of legend that roast swan was eaten. The common man ate peas, beans, turnips and some meat from their livestock. There were no spoons or forks. Rich and poor alike ate with their fingers. The difference was that among the nobility the meat was cut up for guests at table by pages or young girls and placed on slices of flat bread. This flat bread was carried by hand to the mouth. Banquets were part of upper class life. The most important guest would be attended by the lady of the house. It was usual for the queen to cut up meat for the most distinguished guest and hand it to him when he was to be particularly honoured.

The ordinary people had to fish about in the cooking pot with their fingers to bring out a scrap of meat.

The academics were not content with just theory alone. A meal devised from recipes from the Middle Ages was prepared by a Dortmund cook for the participants of the congress on the final day.

It was analysed from the dietetics point of view by the Giessen dietician Waltraut Aign and eaten at something like "King Arthur's Round Table."

Professor Trude Ehlert is preparing a book including the lectures given at the Giessen congress and recipes from the Middle Ages.

Albert Bechtold

(Bremer Nachrichten, 1 June 1987)



Luise in her sniffing heyday. (Photo: AP)

Retirement for Luise, the drug squad pig

KielerNachrichten

Luise, the first pig in the world to be used to sniff out narcotics, has been retired. Weighing in at three hundredweight, she was seen off into retirement by her handler, police sergeant Werner Franke, and Wilfried Hasselmann, the Lower Saxon Interior Minister.

She has been settled at the leisure centre in Sottrum, near Hildesheim, to enjoy her release from active service and raise a family.

Over the past two years Luise, employed like a tracker dog to smell out hashish and heroine, cocaine and high explosives, became the darling of the media. Her astonishing success at smelling out drugs was praised all over the world.

She has appeared in the 200-episode television series *Tatort*.

Franke, head of the police technical and traffic training school in Hildesheim, discovered Luise as a raw beginner three years ago in Sottrum and trained her.

What was considered to be just a trial turned out to be a huge success. Luise showed that she had a memory and a sense of smell equal to a dog's.

Minister Hasselmann praised her staying power.

But there are no plans to introduce another "tracker pig" into service. No budget, which means taxpayers' money, has been allocated for "tracker pigs" as there is for horses and tracker dogs in the public service.

Luise was given a special grant of DM110 per month by Lower Saxon Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht, no less, as a sow in service, but so far she has been unique in the police force.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 May 1987)

Young Turk bribed to stand in for Bundeswehr conscript

A young Hanover businessman bribed a Turk to do his military service for him. The swindle was successful for two months before it was discovered.

The 26-year-old man, named as Carsten D., a publican and owner of a supermarket, was called up for national service, but he was not at all enthusiastic at leaving his flourishing business affairs.

A Hildesheim court was told that he met a 25-year-old Turk, named as Kamal Y., in one of his pubs and drew up a plan.

On 1 October last year the young Turk turned up at Hanover main railway station and presented the conscription papers in the name of Carsten D.

He was put in Bundeswehr uniform and did his basic training at an artillery camp.

No-one expressed surprise at the young recruit who could neither write nor speak German.

The company commander later wrote to the court that he had noticed that the soldier could not speak German very well but, the commander continued, when the young recruit was asked if his parents were recent emigrants from Poland the soldier with the name Carsten D. just nodded his head. That allayed suspicions.

Kamal Y. served for 52 days and received DM630 in pay.

The swindle came to an end on the way to a military training area in a jeep. The alleged Carsten D. drove through everything so that the driving instructor expressed doubt on the validity of the young man's driving licence.

In fact the real Carsten D. did hold a driving licence but the young Turk did not.

When the driving instructor demanded that Kamal should present his driving licence to the authorities he disappeared never to be seen again.

Carsten D. was sentenced to 18 months on probation. He withdrew his appeal before the district court.

The military police are now looking for the first Turk to serve in the German Army.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 2 June 1987)

Lovesickness in verse to the troubadour

Research scholars specialising in European lyrics of the Middle Ages at Mannheim University have been looking at "Love as a Sickness" and how it was dealt with in poems and songs of the past.

People were lovesick in Ancient Egypt. In Ancient Greece the lovesick were advised to distract themselves by "work, battle or new friendships."

In the early Middle Ages it was believed that lovesickness could lead to madness or death unless the person afflicted was not helped by being thrashed, by slandering the person worshipped or through going on a drinking spree.

In three poems from Ancient Egypt the Mannheim researchers found precise descriptions of lovesickness and its effects.

Three thousand years ago the people of the Nile regarded the beloved as the best physician.

In the Middle Ages the flowery language of the Islamic countries of the Middle East created vivid pictures of the lovers' sufferings. The eyelashes of the beautiful beloved hit the lover like a deadly arrow in the heart and her curls were like a binding chain.

The Prophet said that he who loved, remained chaste and died was a martyr. Only Allah could save the person languishing from love if he had predained the fulfilment of his love.

There is little reference to lovesickness in the literature of Christian Spain of the Middle Ages. The only exception is a book from the middle of the 15th century.

Here it is not a man who is languishing with passion but a princess who has fallen in love with a hero and is sure that no physician can help her.

When lovesickness crops up in Cervantes' *Don Quixote* it is made risible by parody.

The position of the troubadours in southern France was very complicated. The troubadour only sighed for a married woman, but any fulfilment of his passion would have cost him his position in society as a knight.

But he could feel the "sweet pains of love." Lovesickness that turned him mad was, however, quite unacceptable socially.

There was no hope for those who suffered from the pangs of love in English lyrics of the Middle Ages. The symptoms were reported in detail, even in religious poetry.

Unfortunate lovers froze in summer heat, glowed in winter's cold, suffered from sleeplessness and frequently ended up in madness or death.

Often descriptions of such evil symptoms were linked to glorification of the beloved damsel.

In none of the poetry is the lover cured of his sickness by the fulfilment of his longing.

There are descriptions of unrequited love in Middle High German poetry. In this poetry there is frequent reference to sparkling eyes that pierce the male heart like arrows.

Usually the knight was never cured but was made mature by "courtly love" and raised to a higher level of human existence.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 6 June 1987)

■ HORIZONS

Jeans-and-juppie-haircut brigade are today's counter-intelligence agents

The school for spy-catchers — staff of the *Verfassungsschutz*, Germany's Cologne-based counter-intelligence organisation, was set up in 1981.

Students at the college, now located at Heimerzheim near Bonn, learn the arts of the conspirator, how to eavesdrop, the techniques of concealed photography, how to recruit informers and how to cream off the best that people they talk to have to say.

But the student body is not made up of floppy-hat types, tough guys wearing sun-glasses or James Bond characters, but young people in jeans and yuppie haircuts.

These are the young people who want to work in West German counter-intelligence, or to protect the constitution — to use the German name.

There are jaunty girls among them too. When asked how they came to be taking up such a career (dangerous perhaps and a nervous strain) you get an answer that reflects the thinking of the newly-emancipated German woman: "Women are slowly but surely coming on."

That does not correspond to the prejudiced picture associated with counter-intelligence. The qualities for admittance to the college lie somewhere between the personality of Thomas Mann's confidence man Felix Krull and a Prussian government official.

The college's address is Gabrielweg in Heimerzheim, but no guardian angel looks over it. Armed border patrolmen stand guard at the entrance. This is necessary because there has been a bomb attack.

Behind it there is a modern building, open on three sides, several storeys high, steep roofed, painted white and black, well laid-out with tennis and volleyball courts, an aviary and the inevitable pool with lawns.

There is an open-air chess game and barbecue grill, of course. It is all like a further education establishment for government officials.

In the entrance hall loudspeakers squawk out short-wave broadcasts from East Germany, picked up by the college directly.

There are columns upon columns of figures from East Berlin; mechanically read out by a female voice, that press on the ear.

Günther Guillaume, the East German spy discovered on Willy Brandt's staff, was given instructions from East Berlin in this way.

There is an exhibition put on by the Lower Saxon *Verfassungsschutz*. In the glass cases there are such items common in espionage as hair-sprays, dead letter boxes and so on.

The *Verfassungsschutz*, or Office for the Protection of the Constitution, is firmly rooted in Articles 73 and 87 of Basic Law. It is not an official body that is open to the public gaze, but it is defined, limited and controlled by West German legislation.

The law and the constitution are principal subjects for study at the college, a department of the central government Staff College, Cologne, that naturally concentrates on public security.

The college offers study courses, has regulations for conducting examinations and sets its own examinations.

Officials entrusted with the protection of the constitution at executive level are today called qualified administrators, which causes the old hands to smile. Prestige is all-important. What goes on at the college? How is it organised and structured?

In 1979, the Federal and *Land* governments decided to set up a training centre for *Verfassungsschutz* staff.

It was to replace the temporary establishment that had been operating from a home for women government officials in Cologne since 1955.

In 1981 the college was opened and a training course with examinations inaugurated.

Here officials at middle and executive level are trained in counter-intelligence and senior officials are given further training.

Officials from other departments of government who have switched to internal security are introduced to the work of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

The building was put up in 1981 at a cost of DM18m, roughly shared between the Federal government and the *Länder*. They also share running costs.

Applied research should also be carried out at the college, but that has not yet got under way.

It is run under the aegis of the head of the *Verfassungsschutz* and by the Federal Interior Minister.

Supervision of courses is provided by a governing body made up of representatives from the 11 states and three experts from the Interior Ministry.

Helmut Roewer described this make-up in his legal commentary on *Nachrichtendienstrecht der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, published in Cologne this year, as guaranteeing the college's independence.

In his opinion the supervision of the subjects studied must be controlled by the Interior Ministry on constitutional law grounds.

There are eight full-time lecturers, including three university professors.

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

There are also about 130 part-time lecturers attached to the teaching body.

Distinguished university professors come to the college as guest lecturers, but they prefer not to be named. They are a bit embarrassed about this because the lecture fees are rather shabby.

Accommodation, 86 single rooms, is attached to the college, furnished inexpensively with Swedish furniture, simple, stable, multi-purpose, a cross between a monk's cell and a student's room.

Every student, grant-aided, has a personal locker in his or her room. Secrets can be locked away in a safe.

The trainees who arrive at the college, having passed through a selection committee and after being vetted for security, have often applied specially for a counter-intelligence job.

The job situation accounts for this in part but also the increasing degree of normality that is common in dealing with public safety. There are signs of change.

Those who aim to get into middle civil service levels and finally are employed in the records office or for surveillance, are trained for two years, one at the college and one in their local counter-intelligence office.

Young people with the *Abitur*, the university entrance examination, take a three-year training course, six months in the general department at the central government Staff College in Cologne, and two and a half years at Heimerzheim, broken up by practical training courses.

There is a student body of between 60 and 100 young people every year. When those attending further education courses and introductory seminars are included there are about 2,000 officials involved in counter-intelligence training at the college annually.

There are about 7,000 officials of this sort in the Federal Republic and every three or four years they return to the college for refresher courses.

What is taught and learned at the college? Primarily constitutional thought and procedures (data protection is important). The old-timers, now grey-haired, who attended the Cologne parent establishment, say that "at Heimerzheim students only learn all the things they don't need."

They include in this the history of political ideas since the French Revolution, political science, political regional studies (to better understand extremism among foreigners), the structure and methods of opposing secret services, collecting information and evaluating it.

Peter Semmt, 55, head of the college, says: "Students must be aware of the legitimacy and importance of their tasks."

Semmt comes from Silesia and has memories of the breakdown of the rule of law in the Third Reich.

He is a lawyer and has been seconded from the *Verfassungsschutz*. For many years he was a personnel expert at the *Bundeskriminalamt*.

One senses that he enjoys his job. Not every head of department has so much room for manoeuvre as he is, and he is aware of the criticism levelled at his college by the experts.

He concedes that "the flood of legislation is only partly understood by students, particularly as regards data protection. Discretion that should be applied fades. Increasingly the belief is held that what the computer does and can do is acceptable."

He also realises that not everything can be taught and learned. Every person at the college cannot know all the technology, nor can every fear be anticipated and overcome.

It is hardly reasonable to theorise about infiltrating terrorist circles, for example.

A qualified psychologist instructs counter-intelligence trainees in ways to overcome stress and how to conduct neutral interviews.

Semmt takes pleasure in giving a guided tour of the college. Journalists are free to talk to instructors and trainees. On the notice-board in the entrance hall there is publicity material from the civil service trades union and the civil service association.

Official bicycles can be hired for after-hours trips.

In one of the seven lecture halls there is an assortment of cameras, videos and an overhead projector.

There is a class register on the desk-level lecture stand. Everything is just like a normal school. There is a study timetable on a board on a wall to the side: introductory lecture, formulating problems and then processing them. The curriculum peeks out from every corner.

During a break young people stand around in the entrance hall, smoking, laughing and chatting.

One said: "This is an interesting and safe job" and another added that it involved "dealing with material that one hears nothing about at school."

Why do they get into this? The answers included: "People are misinformed about our work," or "Why not?" or "It's fun," or "the constitution is worth defending."

The instructor explains the difficulties of the life with a caption: "You can tell other members of the Office what you do, but to everyone else you just work for the Interior Ministry."

The job involves never being able to travel in the East Bloc and no official recognition (unlike in Britain). Is that acceptable? Semmt says: "We don't have many who pull out."

In the college studios there are four television monitors, cine-cameras, projectors, a mixing panel for ten channels, zoom equipment and videos.

In the lecture halls and practice rooms mock-up situations can be acted out. Students practise shadowing suspects and learn how to analyse body language.

A secret service agent, a psychologist and an expert on interviewing people give instruction in teams. (The *Verfassungsschutz* is not entitled to interrogate people.)

In the basement there is a bar, a living-room and a café, "just like in real life," with bar stools, Chianti bottles and so on, but unfortunately all the bottles are empty. Here students learn how to interview.

The photographic laboratory has all the latest equipment. It is used for training in shadowing people using infra-red cameras when it is raining and in unfavourable conditions.

Surprisingly there was a baby's pram here; it is used for concealing a camera.

Another group was being instructed in the theory of shadowing people. In the garage there is a special car used for doing this. Students are given practical training in this vehicle.

On the wall there are maps showing the areas prohibited to members of the Soviet Military Mission in Germany.

Students were going into the problems that can occur when shadowing or having people under observation. The instructor said, for instance: "Never stop in front of a bank. Perhaps the police will come along."

Semmt is responsible for the library which contains 5,000 books. There are volumes by Helmut Kohl and Helmut Schmidt as well as Carl Schmitt.

Karl Ludwig von Haller's *Restauration der Staatswissenschaft* is not among the books on the shelves, but works by Lenin, Engels, Bloch, Horkheimer, Canaris and Gehlen are there.

All the usual magazines were there except *Vorwärts*, but *Die Neue Gesellschaft* is available and the *Tageszeitung*, a Berlin left-wing daily.

Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* seem rather odd in this modern setting. Böll's *Frauen vor der Flußlandschaft* was to be found in the gallery of the communications centre. Walser's *Dorle und Wolf* was not there.

From a construction point of view the college has opted for freedom rather than security. The telephone kiosk on the ground floor was originally soundproof until it was found that no-one could breathe when in the booth.

Semmt had air-holes made in it. He realised that you can suffocate from too much security. But also that without security you cannot breathe freely.

Peter Meier-Bergfeld

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 22 May 1987)